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BOOK REVIEWS

What Really Happened at Paris: The Story of the Peace Conference, 1918-1919. By American Delegates. Edited by EDWARD MANDELL HOUSE, United States Commissioner Plenipotentiary, and CHARLES SEYMOUR, Professor of History in Yale University. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921, 528 + xvi pp.

A distinct service has been rendered in the publication of this book. Perhaps one may expect from the title a chronicle of the Conference, or the various Councils of Ten, Five, or Four, day by day, with all the most intimate details and debates revealed. If so, he will be disappointed. The book makes no attempt to do this, and it is doubtful if anyone but the members of the "Big Four" could write such a volume. What this book aims to do, and *does*, is to give a clear insight into the complexities, difficulties and cross purposes with which the Peace Conference had to contend. After reading it no one will be surprised that more was not accomplished: the wonder is that so much could be achieved in four months.

The foreword by Edward Bok explains that at Colonel House's suggestion a number of the delegates and technical experts delivered a series of lectures at the Philadelphia Academy of Music during the winter of 1920-1921. At the end of each lecture the audience was encouraged to ask questions. Questions and replies were taken down by stenographers, whose transcript forms a valuable appendix to the book, which is simply the collection of these lectures. Colonel House writes the foreword explaining that the purpose of the lectures (and book) is to give facts about the Conference, to dispel some of the multitude of rumors and myths already accumulating.

Only two of the eighteen chapters were written by plenipotentiaries—XVI: "The Problem of Disarmament" by General Bliss, and XVIII: "The Versailles Peace in Retrospect" by Colonel House. The others, written by American experts attached to the commission, deal with the preparations for peace, the organization of the conference, the new boundaries of Germany, Poland, the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, Fiume and

the Adriatic, Constantinople and the Balkans, Armenia and Turkey, the protection of minorities, the trial of the Kaiser, reparations, economic problems, labor, economic administration during the armistice, the Atlantic fleet, the making of the League of Nations. Three chapters—Mr. Hoover's on economic administration during the armistice, Admiral Mayo's on the Atlantic fleet in the war, and General Bliss's on the disarmament question—do not deal directly with the Peace Conference, but are decidedly valuable additions to the book.

All of the chapters are interestingly written, in a dispassionate, open-minded tone. No author professes himself completely satisfied with the treaty, but all recognize that it was the best that could be secured under the circumstances, was a step in advance of any previous treaty and realized a surprisingly large percentage of the wishes of the world. Apparently all believe that the United States should have ratified the treaty, joined the League of Nations, then sought to correct thereby what was unsatisfactory in the settlements. Some definitely voice their regret that we neglected a duty and lost an opportunity in not accepting the mandate for Armenia.

While the various chapters deal primarily with work of the special commissions on which their authors served, all reveal glimpses of the workings of the Plenary Conference and the different Councils, such as the "Ten" and the "Four." Incidentally the descriptive errors of Keynes and Dillon are refuted. Interesting sidelights are thrown upon the characters of the leading commissioners and many foolish rumors disproven. Very interesting personal glimpses are afforded, as that of "President Wilson on all fours, kneeling on a gigantic map spread upon the floor and tracing with his finger a proposed boundary, other plenipotentiaries grouped around him, also on all fours" [101].

Perhaps the most valuable chapters are those by Professor Haskins on the new boundaries of Germany, Professor Westermann on the Armenian and Turkish problem, Mr. Lamont on reparations, Mr. Gompers on the labor clauses, General Bliss on disarmament, and Mr. Miller on the League of Nations. However, one cannot afford to skip any chapter or the appendix.

It would be an excellent thing if every American could be induced to read this book—especially the appendix; for no one can arise from a calm and careful reading of it without being proud of the part America played at Paris and conscious of her obligations in world affairs. One also gets a better idea of the making

of the treaty than from any of the other works which have fallen under the present reviewer's eye.

Five maps and an index are supplied. The presswork is unusually good, only two typographical errors having caught the writer's eye—"November 3" for *November 4*, as the date of the Austro-Italian armistice, and "Gourand" for *Gouraud* [pp. 91 and 200].

It is easy to perceive that the authors are of varying schools of thought in politics, history and international relations; and equally clear that no effort has been made to subordinate a writer's opinions to those of the American commissioners or of the editors. The several authors do not hesitate to take issue with the wisdom of a given view of their chiefs (or of the Conference), but the book is singularly and surprisingly free from the attribution of improper motives to those with whom one disagrees.

The object and tenor of the collection can best be expressed by Colonel House's own words in the last paragraph of the final chapter:

The world at large gave prompt and generous praise to our diplomatic, military and naval efforts. But we were not content to let their righteous judgments go unchallenged; in public and in private we have told of our shortcomings in terms so convincing that others have come to see us as we seem to see ourselves. The object of this book is to tell something of the American purposes at the Conference, and let our people form a more deliberate opinion as to "What Really Happened at Paris."

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The Truth About the Treaty. BY ANDRÉ TARDIEU. Foreword by Edward M. House. Introduction by Georges Clémenceau. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1921, 473 pp.

Let it be said at once that M. Tardieu has written an intensely interesting and very readable account of the historic months during which the representatives of the Allied powers drafted the treaties which brought the World War to an end.

The title of the book is a challenge. It is not that M. Tardieu misrepresents the facts, but it is obvious that the relative importance of facts seen through French eyes is quite different from that seen through British or American eyes. M. Tardieu leaves